

TRENTON'S KILLER COPS

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THE MILITANT

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Top Brass Stalls Korea Talks With Aggressive Acts

Events last week in Korea cast serious doubt on Washington's intentions to conclude any cease-fire agreement there. At the very least it becomes clear that U.S. negotiators are trying to hold up a truce until after the signing of the Japanese peace treaty next week.

A series of belligerent provocations on the part of U.S. high brass took place starting last Sunday, just as truce negotiations appeared to be making rapid headway. Reports from the four-man subcommittee meetings in Kaesong indicated that discussions were taking place in a relaxed atmosphere. Further and even more important, a Peking broadcast on Saturday, Aug. 18, quoted Korean negotiation chief Gen. Nam Il as saying, "it is possible to adjust this (truce) line on the basis of the terrain and mutual defense positions of the demilitarized zone if they are reasonable and necessary." This statement plainly went a long way towards giving in to U.S. demands.

Suddenly on the following morning, General Ridgway opened a new major offensive with one of the most devastating artillery bombardments of the Korean war. This developed quickly into the hardest fighting since the start of the cease-fire talks. Early the same morning, 30 armed men invaded the Kaesong area, and attacked a Chinese MP platoon, killing the platoon leader and wounding one other soldier.

Following rapidly upon the heels of these events were the strafing of Korean jeeps flying white flags on their way to the conference area, and finally the sudden change in U.S. policy

marked by the bombing of Rashin, North Korean town only 17 miles from the Soviet border.

All of these incidents have not been denied by the U.S. command, which has denied only a still further Korean-Chinese charge that the Kaesong area was bombed with napalm early one morning last week.

MacARTHUR SCHEME

The bombing of Rashin was a pet MacArthur scheme, and his continued championing of this provocative act led to his dismissal from Far East command. "I was very anxious," he said in his first day's Senate testimony, "to bomb Rashin . . . (but) we were forbidden."

General Bradley replied to MacArthur in the following words: "The State Dept. has always objected to the bombing of Rashin because . . . 17 miles is not a very long space in which to turn around and get back out." And General Collins added in further rebuttal, "Rashin, frankly, is of no great consequence . . . you do not gain very much by bombing Rashin."

The sudden change of tune on the bombing of Rashin, which had become a symbol of MacArthur's policies, capped the climax after a week of shameless aggressive actions plainly designed to obstruct a cease-fire, at least at the present time, while the U.S. imperialists are trying to line up support for their Japanese peace pact.

MYRA T. WEISS STARTS TOUR IN NEWARK, SEPT. 7

Myra Tanner Weiss, known to thousands of workers in Los Angeles and elsewhere on the West Coast as a brilliant Socialist campaigner and speaker begins this week her two-month coast to coast tour under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party.

She will speak in Newark, N. J. on Friday, Sept. 7 at 8:00 p.m. at 423 Springfield Ave. on: THE



MYRA TANNER WEISS

OUTLOOK FOR AMERICA: Lessons of the Korean War."

ON WAR PLANS

Her talk, dealing with this timeliest of topics, will present the Socialist viewpoint on the Korea truce talks, the prospects for peace in Asia and in the world, and the repercussions of Korea and the arms program on the American people.

She will analyze in this connection political tasks and needs in the light of the dire threat to the living standards and popular democratic rights here at home which has resulted from the arms program of the billionaire plutocrats and Truman's unauthorized war in Korea.

Mrs. Weiss has run as the SWP candidate for Congress, Mayor and Board of Education in Los Angeles; she received 18,752 votes in this year's Los Angeles elections.

After fulfilling her engagement in Newark, Mrs. Weiss will speak in Boston, Mass. on Saturday, Sept. 8.

The Militant will carry detailed information of dates and places of Mrs. Weiss's speaking engagements from week to week. Further information may be obtained by writing the Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

The schedule of her tour, after the Sept. 7 talk in Newark, follows:

TOUR SCHEDULE

Saturday	Sept. 8	Boston
Sunday	9	New Haven
Friday	14	New York
Saturday	15	Philadelphia
Sunday	16	"
Monday	17	Buffalo
Tuesday	18	"
Wednesday	19	"
Thursday	20	"
Friday	21	"
Saturday	22	Cleveland
Sunday	23	"
Monday	24	Akron
Tuesday	25	"
Wednesday	26	Youngstown
Thursday	27	"
Friday	28	Pittsburgh
Saturday	29	Travel
Sunday	30	Detroit
Monday	Oct. 1	"
Tuesday	2	Ft. Jnt
Wednesday	3	Detroit
Thursday	4	"
Saturday	6	Chicago
Sunday	7	Milwaukee
Monday	8	Chicago
Tuesday	9	"
Wednesday	10	Chicago
Thursday	Oct. 11	St. Louis
Friday	12	Travel
Saturday	13	Twin Cities
Sunday	14	"
Monday	15	"
Tuesday	16	"
Wednesday	17	Travel
Thursday	18	Salt Lake City
Friday	19	"



"One-Third of a Nation" Still Lives in Poverty

Fifteen years after F. D. Roosevelt shed his crocodile tears for "one-third of a nation, ill-housed, ill-clad and ill-nourished," and promised to do something about it, one-third of a nation remains in the same impoverished condition. That is the only conclusion that can be drawn from facts recently released by the Conference Group on Low Income Families.

The Conference Group, composed of nine national welfare agencies, in a report for the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report, told a tale of miserable poverty and bitter sub-standard living. Its findings were the result of a sample investigation of 100 families, to find out just how 10,500,000 families in the U.S., or one-quarter of all family units, manage to live on incomes less than \$2,000 per year.

HALF A NATION

Not only this one-quarter of America's families, but fully half of the families of this country with incomes below \$2,750, must get along on far less than the \$4,000 which the Department of

Labor says is a minimum family decency and health budget.

How these American families do it is a story of impoverished living that gives the lie to the fancy claims of an "America way" that gives a high living standard made by well-paid propaganda experts. Unlike such lying claims, however, the report of this Conference Group has been given very little notice in the capitalist-controlled press.

How can a family eat nowadays on \$2,000 per year? The Conference Group reports how it was done in 1950, before food costs went up almost 30 points on the Bureau of Labor Statistics index:

MEAT AND MILK

"The most frequent method used to cut down the food budget was to eliminate meat and milk. . . . The habit was to economize by eating starchy diets which are filling — bread, potatoes, macaroni, spaghetti, rice. Many families reserved meat for Sundays and holidays. The use of day-old bread was another means of economizing."

Even after cutting all expenditures for clothing and rent, the report said, many families could not meet minimum subsistence levels for food.

Nor is the housing situation any better for one-third of a nation than it was 15 years ago. While many new housing units have been built, these are almost entirely for the top and middle thirds of the population, with only a very tiny handful of low-income housing projects. "In these postwar years," the report says, "such families have had difficulty even in wedging into the slums."

PROBLEM OF SHOES

How about clothing? Here the facts are even more glaring. "Shoes," says the Conference Group report, "present the stiffest all-family problem, not only because they usually have to be purchased new, but because cheap leather means that they wear out faster. A new suit, dress or overcoat we found mentioned as a rarity for grownups. Most clothing purchases were made on a

(Continued on page 2)

Union Ward-Heelers And Labor Day

An Editorial

On Labor Day 1951, the American labor leadership has little to brag about. Although William Green patted himself on the back in his Labor Day message, saying "During the past year, labor at the local, national and international level reached new heights of influence, prestige and constructive leadership," he could not avoid revealing at least part of the reverses suffered by labor in the past year.

Referring to the uncontrolled inflation and the lack of "equality of sacrifice" in the laws passed by the 82nd Congress, Green asserted: " . . . As we take stock, we come to the inevitable conclusion that unless we expand and perfect our political activities organized labor stands to lose through hostile legislation much of the ground it has gained over the years."

The fact is, the Big Business controlled Congress has already undermined the living standards of the American workers. Real incomes have been reduced by increased taxes, higher rents, and runaway prices. Wages, under the Wage Stabilization Board's control, have lagged far behind living costs.

The top union officials are no longer able to ignore the weakest spot in organized labor's armor, and that is, its political ineffectiveness. But their answer to the problem is meaningless, worthless. Echoing William Green, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, CIO, states in its Labor Day message, "Labor must intensify its political activity. The time is long past when American labor has to accept as its candidates for office the political hacks, the ward heelers, the time servers who bring government into disrepute, and who are incapable of producing or carrying through a program to meet the critical needs of the times."

But there is not the slightest sign that any section of the official labor leadership is prepared to embark on a new road politically. They all continue to support Truman, political hack No. 1, and the Democrats or Republicans — both parties completely under Big Business control.

The situation can be accurately described as one in which the union leaders play the role of labor ward heelers for capitalist politicians. In

exchange for this activity, they get a few "prestige positions," but the workers suffer one blow after another. Ward heelers butter their own bread.

Although the labor movement represents the single biggest bloc of voters in the country, it does not have a single voice in Congress. The tiny minority of billionaires controls the House and Senate as well as the White House.

This situation can be reversed if labor breaks all ties with the Wall Street political parties, and organizes its own independent political party. But it cannot be done under the present do-nothing union leadership.

Many militant workers, especially in the CIO, have felt the need for a new leadership. Opposition groups have repeatedly sprung up, in such unions as the UAW-CIO. But thus far, these opposition groups have not been able to mobilize enthusiastic rank and file majorities, because their programs have been totally inadequate.

On the key issue of our times, political action, these groups have hesitated to break with the old policies and boldly advocate a new course — toward a labor party.

A new leadership cannot be built exclusively on the basis of a fight over plant problems, more militant economic struggles, even though a far more aggressive fight on this level is needed. It cannot be built by clique fights for power. The workers are tired of this kind of internal union struggle; they will not be inspired by it.

An opposition can fight and win in the labor movement only by standing on the platform of a radical, totally new political outlook. Such a left-wing program must necessarily include as its most important plank: the formation of an independent labor party. This point alone would serve to show the way to the many militants in the unions looking for a new road.

For the building of a new left-wing leadership of the dynamic unions in this country, there is no halfway house. Build labor's own political party! That is the way to fight the Greens and the Murrys and the Reuthers. That will mobilize the ranks. That will put the unions in a position to defend the workers' interests on the decisive field of battle, the battlefield of politics.

Truman Asks Robber Peace In Japan Pact

'Bring Dad Home,' Say Mo. Wives

How unpopular Truman-Ridgway's "Operation Slaughter" is was demonstrated once again last week when wives and children of Missouri National Guardsmen, now serving in the front lines in Korea, threw a picket line around the armory, demanding that their husbands be brought home. The little children, many of them infants, bore crude home made placards reading: "Let Daddy Come Home." "I Want My Daddy," read the sign borne by little Joseph, 21-month old son of Sgt. Robert Weeks and his wife.

Last June, Dr. L. F. Kimball, national president of the USO, blamed the "folks back at home" for creating a serious "moral problem" among the GI's in Korea by writing letters saying "this is just a political war and you're not fighting for anything but the politicians." From all indications, the Korean war has not gained in popularity at all.

Senate Eases Tax On Rich, But Low Incomes Hit Hard

U.S. Senators are earning their money these days sweating in the Washington summer heat, figuring out ways to make the working people pay more in taxes, while easing up on the tax load of the wealthy.

The Senate Finance Committee is hard at work revising the House proposals, already heavily weighted in favor of the rich. The House has proposed a straight 12 1/2 percent increase in income taxes for all groups. That would mean that the same number of dollars per hundred would be added to the tax of a family with an income of \$1,000 per year as with an income of \$100,000.

This proposal, unfair to the working people as it is, is being worked over by the Senate Committee with an eye toward keeping the tax increase on the poor about the same, but drastically lowering the tax increase to be paid by the higher income brackets. The big savings would come in the incomes above \$40,000 a year.

Not satisfied with this income tax steal, the wealthy manipulators of the U.S. Senate have also gone to work on corporate taxes. On Saturday, Aug. 25, the Senate Committee re-opened a loophole in the corporate tax laws which had been closed by the House proposals. By means of this loophole, which permits each member of a chain of connected corporations to take certain deductions, corporations will steal about \$56 million next year.

Still not satisfied, the Senators went back to work the next day, and chopped a hefty three-quarters of a billion dollars from corporate taxes. The biggest reduction of all was in excess profits taxes. This cut alone will save \$610 million for the corporations. Excess profits taxes are supposed to cut down on the wartime profits which corporations coin out of the slaughter of innocent young draftees and civilians in wartime.

Federal tax bills this year are designed to add the staggering sum of more than \$7 billion to the already stupendous tax load now being borne by the American people. Cuts such as the Senate is making in corporate and higher income taxes increase the burden carried by the poor.

Britain, France Toe Line; Asian Peoples All Opposed

By Harry Frankel

Amid worldwide protest, the U.S. is preparing to compel Asia to accept a Japanese peace treaty which arranges Asian affairs in the best interests of American imperialism.

U.S. DOMINATION

The proposed Japan pact provides for continued occupation by U.S. troops of the Japanese mainland, turning over the Ryukyu and Bonin Islands to U.S. imperialism, revival of Japanese militarism and continued U.S. domination of Formosa.

The treaty conference will open in San Francisco on Sept. 4. It is generally recognized that the U.S. negotiators at Kaesong have been under instructions not to arrive at any cease-fire agreement before the conclusion of the San Francisco conference. Such an agreement, by quieting the rumblings of war in the Far East, would hamper the State Dept. in its pressure for the Japan pact. Also, a cease fire now in Korea would make it extremely difficult to justify a policy of exclusion of the new China government from the treaty table.

TERMS OF TREATY

Meanwhile, the terms of the Japanese treaty are satisfactory to no one but the U.S. imperialists who are dictating it. India, in a denunciation of the treaty, last week let it be known that she would not attend the San Francisco conference. Nehru, in a statement against provisions of the treaty, makes a series of objections, all of which can be listed under the single heading: the Japan treaty maintain the power of U.S. imperialism in Asia. Burma has refused to attend the parley for the same reason.

Britain and France, dragged to the conference table with difficulty, fear that a revived Japanese imperialism, in cahoots with American imperialism, will push out all other commercial and industrial interests from those parts of Asia that remain open to exploitation. Even the Philippines, U.S. puppet, will sign the treaty unwillingly, fearful of the revived power of Japanese military force. In the Philippines treaty terms were greeted with angry disapproval, marked by

CHINA'S POSITION

such protest actions as the burning in effigy of the Republican advisor to the State Dept., John Foster Dulles, who wrote the treaty.

China has expressed the bitterest opposition to the treaty, charging that the object of the so-called "magnanimous" terms of the treaty is to establish a solid prop for imperialism in the far East, and a jumping off place for attacks upon the Soviet bloc.

In the meantime, U.S. occupation policies in Japan have been steadily moving in the direction of a revival of Japanese imperialism as an anti-Soviet force. Lindsay Parrott, reporting from Tokyo in the N. Y. Times of Sunday, Aug. 26, summarizes this process. He says that occupation policies like the " . . . purge of former office holders, military officers and business people adjudged to have been collaborators with the militarists already are being canceled. The government also has a committee studying the overhauling of various occupation economic policies like the anti-cartel law, the financial stabilization of the Dodge Plan, which some of them believe held back reconstruction of the country.

"For these reasons," he goes on, "the Japanese are preparing to make something like a celebration of the San Francisco signing."

JAPANESE

The bulk of the Japanese people, who continue to suffer under foreign occupation under terms of the treaty, are not so happy about it. A poll on the U.S. pact showed a strong majority opposed.

Thus the Japan peace pact is being railroaded despite bitter opposition from almost every important force in Asia, both popular and government. About the only support the pact is getting is from puppet governments which are being maintained by force of arms against the wishes of the people. The biggest powers of Asia, India, and China will either boycott the conference (India), or will be excluded (China).

JOHN F. DULLES

The treaty was prepared by the Republican advisor to the State Dept., John Foster Dulles, corporation lawyer, and himself director in no fewer than 15 corporations. His grandfather, appropriately enough, was John Watson Foster, who in 1895 helped arrange the Treaty of Shimonoseki, by which Japanese imperialism robbed China of Korea, Formosa, the Pescadores Islands, the Liao-tung Peninsula, and a heavy cash indemnity at the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese War.

Imperialist U.S. has arrogantly announced that the San Francisco parley will last only from Sept. 4 to Sept. 8, and that the treaty is to be signed either intact or not at all. "Take it or leave it," the world is being told. "You can't amend it, or change it at all, and don't try to talk about it too long either." In order to enforce this extraordinary course of action, the U.S. is entering the treaty conference with a set of proposals on procedure which will limit debate and hamstring discussion.

Union Hails James Kutcher's Fight for Rights

"In these grim days of witchhunts and dim-outs of civil liberties, it is good to know that there are many in the labor movement ready and eager to halt this blight. We wish you success in the cause of securing justice to brother James Kutcher, whose fortitude in facing the massed might of reaction merits the respect and admiration of everyone who abhors injustice."

These words of encouragement accompanied a \$10 donation to the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee from UAW-CIO Amalgamated Local 722 of St. Paul, Minnesota, to enable the legless veteran to carry his fight against the loyalty purge to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. A similar contribution to Kutcher's defense fund was sent last week by Brier Hill Local 1462, United Steelworkers of America, of Youngstown, Ohio.

Notebook of an Agitator

THE MATTER OF JUSTICE

The case of William N. Oatis, Associated Press correspondent sentenced to ten years imprisonment in Czechoslovakia, after confessing to a charge of spying, has stirred up American newspapers and newspapermen to a partisan interest in justice they never felt before. At any rate, they are expressing themselves about it, volubly and even excitedly, for the first time to my knowledge. Oatis is one of their own. His case also involves them, insofar as it affects the security of foreign correspondents. Oatis has become not simply a case to report but a cause to defend. As with the Catholic hierarchy in the case of Mindszenty, and American businessmen in the case of Vogeler, the individual is represented as the symbol of a principle — the principle of justice and fair play — and the American people are summoned to a moral crusade in its defense.

Our moralistic preceptors have learned to love justice late in life. Justice has been a poor vagabond in the world for a long time, with hardly a place to lay her head, and they never gave her a tumble. I, personally, am in favor of the principle laid down as a basis of this crusade, but I am somewhat mistrustful of late converts — especially those who have an axe of their own to grind.

Please don't misunderstand me. I do regard this awakening to the importance of justice for the individual as ludicrously sudden, and even contemptible in its hypocrisy. But I am making no jokes about the prisoners involved in these cases; or any other prisoners, for that matter. There is nothing funny about a defenseless man — any man — on trial for his life or his liberty, which is practically the same thing. When he is cut off from friends and all means of support, isolated and under pressure in a hostile environment, and deprived of competent legal counsel of his own choosing — it means in effect that he has no defense at all. That's wrong wherever it happens. I believe the world should be concerned about the matter of justice for the individual human being. And this concern is long overdue.

Test of Justice Involves All

When the friends of Oatis, Vogeler or Mindszenty contend that their cases are the concern of all, they are right to a certain extent. When justice is at stake, all are involved. There is no such thing as the trial of one man; although this is seldom realized until a particular trial strikes home. When one is on trial, all are on trial. The accusers as well as the accused. Not only the victim, but those who impose the punishment. Not only the participants in the trial, but also the observers — the whole community. And they are all subject to judgment — the accused as to the facts in his particular case; the accusers by the manner in which they prosecute; and the observers, the whole community, by their reaction to the proceedings. By this reaction, by this attitude, they also should be judged. It is from this broader, more inclusive standpoint that I wish to discuss here not only the trial of Mr. Oatis, with whom I deeply sympathize, but also the other trials; and trials and confessions in general.

It is not my intention here to debate the

merits of the confessions extracted from the cardinal, the businessman, and the correspondent by their Stalinist inquisitors. Espionage, of course, is a business in which the U.S. government, like all others, is extensively engaged, and on which it expends huge sums of money and uses all kinds of people. Priests, businessmen and journalists are undoubtedly included in their network, like people of any other occupation in ordinary life. The defendants in these particular cases could all be guilty of the offenses charged against them, and such conduct would represent no contradiction to the things they stand for and the interests they represent.

Moralistic Phonies and Spies

Neither would it be considered wrong by the moralistic phonies who are beating the drums in their defense. The U.S. Intelligence Service, which organizes espionage in foreign countries, is dear to their hearts. And the F.B.I., with its army of domestic spies and stool-pigeons, is the apple of their eye. Even General MacArthur, who sits on the right hand of God, maintained an intelligence service to ferret out those military secrets of the North Koreans and Chinese which the Lord neglected to tip him off to. The only criticism I have heard about this is that the five-star general's spies didn't find out much.

On the other hand, I would be the last person to put any credence whatever in anything coming out of a Stalinist court. I take it for granted, as a matter of course, that all Stalinist trials are designed to serve political purposes. The guilt or innocence of the particular person in the hands of the Stalinist police in a specific case makes no difference whatever. Guilty or innocent of the specific crime charged against him, he will be convicted just the same. I don't know whether the cardinal, the businessman and the press correspondent are guilty or innocent, and have no way of finding out. Their sponsors have made no attempt to prove their innocence; and the Stalinist proofs of their guilt are worthless. Therefore I am willing to assume, for the purpose of this discussion, what it is always safe to assume about any Stalinist trial — that these particular trials were frame-ups and that the confessions were false.

Assuming this, in order to get extraneous and — in the circumstances — unverifiable questions out of the way, I propose to raise other questions which can be verified. There have been many cases of frame-ups and false confessions right here in the United States. Their victims, being made of human flesh and blood, were just as good as Oatis, Vogeler and Mindszenty, and just as much entitled to fair play. What about them? What did our clerical bigwigs, business monopolists and publishing tycoons have to say about the violations of justice in these cases here at home? An examination of the record, which is wide open for anybody's inspection, will give the answer to this question. It should also throw some light on the worth of their pretensions and protests in the name of justice and morality — in Eastern Europe.

— J.P.C.

(Next Week: The Dirt on Their Own Doorstep)

Iran Talks Flop As British Issue Ultimatum

After more than six weeks and scores of conferences, the negotiations between Britain and Iran over the nationalized Iranian oil industry have again collapsed. These negotiations were imposed upon the Iranian government by the relentless pressure of the American imperialists through Truman's "personal representative," the millionaire Averell Harriman.

The capitalist propaganda machine in this country and in Britain has pictured these talks, whose progress throughout was kept in strictest secrecy, as the height of reasonableness and conciliation on the part of the British and the height of unreasonableness, "fanaticism," etc., on the part of the Iranians.

The British delegation, headed by Lord Privy Seal Richard Stokes, started the negotiations talking tough and ended on the same note — by an ultimatum to Iran to accept the British terms or suffer the consequences, that is, a thinly veiled threat to employ force.

Harriman, portrayed as an "impartial" go-between, actually backed the British at every stage.

About the only "soft" note he introduced was an offer to bribe the Iranian government with a \$25 million loan through the Import-Export Bank, plus a vague promise of further loans.

The British position is that they have the right to stay in Iran and continue exploiting the vast oil resources of that country for the benefit of the British oil monopolists. The only point they are willing to concede is to pay slightly higher royalties. Up to now they have been paying from ten to 15 cents a barrel, or virtually stealing the oil. They are now willing to pay a little more.

As for the rest, they imperiously insist that the Iranian nationalization decree remain on paper, while the British run the industry, lock, stock and barrel, as before.

An authoritative summary of the British proposals was contained in a cable from London to the Wall Street Journal, the influential financial daily. On Aug. 18 this paper reported that the British demanded the setting up of three companies. One an "Iranian" dummy, without any powers whatever, and the other

two completely British-dominated corporations, with sweeping powers.

The "National Iranian Co.," the "purely Iranian" agency, would formally take over the assets of the nationalized oil industry, have an advisory voice in approving "the oil production policy" and supervise the distribution of oil inside the country, a tiny fraction of the total output.

BRITISH CONTROL

The purchase, sale and distribution of the oil would be in the hands of a British purchasing organization, with the Iranians barred from any voice on it.

Finally, a third agency was to be set up that would handle the operation of the oil fields and the great refinery at Abadan. On this body, the British were magnanimous enough to permit "some Iranian directors."

These are the same terms that the British have been seeking to dictate to Iran since the beginning of the Iranian crisis. The camouflage is a little more elaborate than the one originally proposed, but that is all.

For the Iranian government to

accept such terms is to capitulate to the British. And this, no Iranian government can afford to do in the face of the overwhelming mass opposition inside the country. It would mean the immediate downfall of any government that permitted the British to hold on to the oil monopoly. The previous Premier who tried it, was assassinated; and the same threats have been made against the reigning Premier Mossadegh.

In this sense the Mossadegh government was left with no choice in the matter. Despite the terrific pressure exerted by Harriman, the British ultimatum was rejected.

PROVOCATION

The British continue to "talk tough." They have begun the evacuation of the British technical staff from the oil fields, but intend to leave a "skeleton staff" at the Abadan refinery. This staff is under instructions not to allow the Iranians to take over the plant.

This is a deliberate act of provocation. Should the Iranian government try to take over the

refinery, as it has every right to do, the British can then declare the "lives of their nationals" in jeopardy and resort to naked force.

In preparation for this a British naval armada has long been stationed in the vicinity of Abadan, while air and land forces have been mobilized on the Iranian frontiers and a division of paratroopers stationed in the Mediterranean within easy reach.

The conduct of the British has been so crass that it has aroused "criticism" even from so conservative a capitalist politician as Sen. Malone of Nevada. On Aug. 23, he declared on the Senate floor:

"Instead of trying to arrive at some fair method, the British simply continued largely controlling the government of Iran. It was well known that they controlled the government of Iran, and paid very little in royalties for oil, until the showdown came. Then they expected Uncle Sam to get tough." The Senator omitted to add that Washington has thus far lived up to all the British expectations, and that one of the main reasons they refuse to budge in Iran has been the support they have been receiving from the American imperialists.

The Senator was then so incautious as to go on to denounce the "colonial system" practiced by Britain. "It is a great system," he said. "But it will not work, because the colonial system is out of date at this time. . . . Things can no longer be concealed. The various colonial peoples can no longer be controlled by the British, as they were for 100 years."

The Senator did not openly say so, but he obviously implied that the British should leave and let the American oil monopolists take over.

Let both Britain and the U.S. get out and stay out of Iran! The various colonial peoples, as the Iranian experience once again confirms, refuse to be controlled any longer.

What U. S. Generals Don't Know

By Doris Jones

More of the secret testimony of Brig. Gen. Michaelis before the House Appropriations Defense Subcommittee has been made public by Washington columnist C. B. Allen. The General, former assistant commander of the 25th Division in Korea and recently appointed as Eisenhower's training co-ordinator in Europe, as we reported two weeks ago in this column, paid glowing compliments

to American soldiers as "professional killers."

He paid no such "compliments" to the Chinese and North Korean soldiers but his testimony about them was just as revealing. These soldiers, testified the General, are "well-fed, sturdy, good Chinamen. . . . look like they had been conscripted from the villages." Then he added what he obviously believed to be damaging facts, first, that among the last

groups captured there were "a hunchback. . . two men of forty-five and two kids of fifteen"; and second that they are poorly trained.

"They take a Chinaman or North Korean and give him 10 or fifteen days training and put him on top of one of those hills and tell him to dig in and stay there until he dies; and he will stay there. . . ."

Now there is one thing that a

brass hat hates to admit and that is that poorly trained, poorly equipped Asian soldiers can and do stand up against elaborately trained and lavishly equipped troops. But the General had to admit it just the same. When asked whether these troops surrender when "confronted with a hopeless situation" the General reluctantly confirmed that "relatively few" surrendered, and "that is one of the things we do not know the answer to."

That wasn't the only thing the General didn't know the answer to. He was also at a loss to explain why "it was impossible to get our South Korean allies to perform the same way in battle."

The General simply can't understand why the South Koreans won't fight for the corrupt, brutal Syngman Rhee regime when he himself supports it. They have tasted the fruits of Rhee's regime just as they have tasted the "liberation" brought them by all the generals from MacArthur down. They have seen their cities and villages wiped out, and their country laid waste from one end to the other. It is hardly surprising that they see no reason to die for this kind of "liberation."

DESTRUCTION

To wage a successful war, explained the General, "We have to destroy their economy; we have to destroy their means of making war against us. That means their government on down."

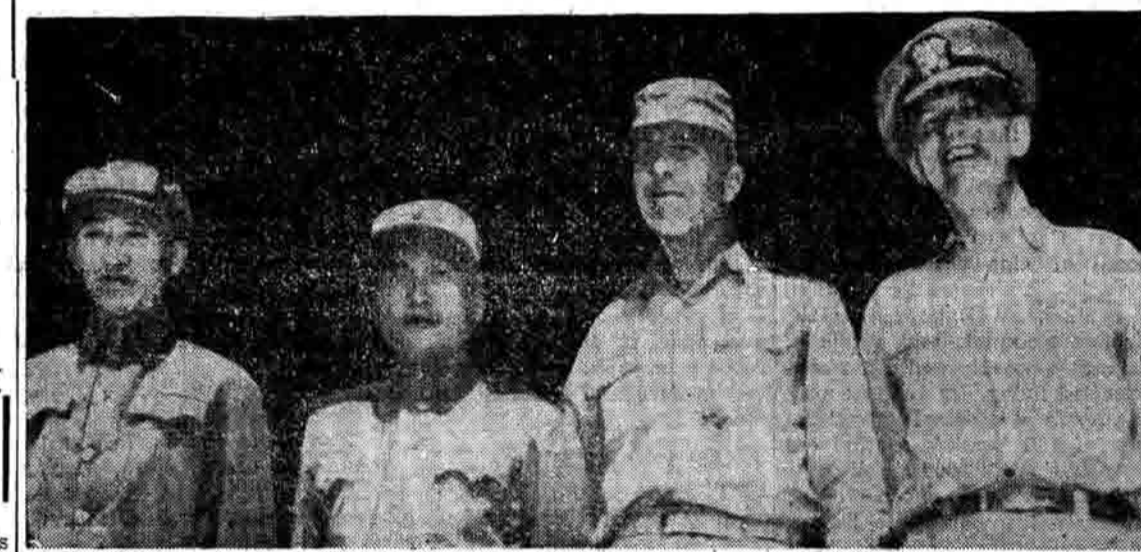
From the General's own words, which have been carried out in life in Korea, it is just as obvious why the Chinese and North Koreans, including "hunchbacks, old men and boys" are fighting so courageously. On the one hand, they are fighting for their freedom, their right to determine their own fate, to improve their lot. They are fighting against all the white militarists who have so long ground the necks of the Asians under their military boots. On the other hand, they are fighting against total destruction.

In a word, what inspires them is much the same cause that inspired the colonials in this country in 1776 to rise up against the British tyrants and their "professional killers."

There is another annihilating admission in the General's testimony, and that is that the GI's have no cause for fighting in Korea. After delivering the usual spiel about the saving the world from communism and "safeguarding democracy," the General had to admit that the American soldier "fights because he's told to fight. And, frankly, he is fighting to save his own life." American capitalists in their determination to make the world safe for their exploitation conscript American youth, train them, put guns in their hands and teach them to become "professional killers" — by putting them in a position where the choice before them is "kill or get killed."

The Chinese and North Koreans on the other hand are fighting because they have a great stake in the battle — freedom from the imperialist yoke. Of course you can't expect Gen. Michaelis and his kind to understand that, any more than these military-minded creatures will ever understand that the American youth will never docilely accept the role of "killing or getting killed" — for the sake of enslaving other people.

Kaesong Negotiators



These are the members of the 4-man subcommittee set up to negotiate details of the cease-fire in the Korea war. They are (l. to r.): Chinese Gen. Hsieh Fang, North Korean Maj. Lee Song Cho, Gen. Hodges and Rear. Adm. Burke, of the United States.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Oakland Literature Agent Frank K. reports that three comrades are selling The Militant regularly each week.

"Lill and Bill have been doing very well with their sales," he writes. In general "sales in Oakland are still moving at a steady pace and our subscriptions have also been steady. I believe since the campaign we have averaged

at least one a week from one town or another in our area. We have used the campaign as a means of starting discussion groups also. I have never seen a more opportune time to sell our literature. Last week I sold 37 Militants, and this week 9."

Akron Literature Agent Kat reports continued good results in subs from the six weeks deliveries sold during the campaign. She sold 2 more subs recently and says that Lou sold 10 copies of The Militant and a new six-weeks sub Sunday morning.

Pauline, Literature Agent in Philadelphia, writes, "I think you will be interested in knowing that we held two election street meetings in the last two weeks and at the first one we sold 12 copies of the paper and at the second meeting we sold 35 Militants and 4 pamphlets."

We would like to hear from other literature agents about Militant sales in their localities. The following letters from subscribers express appreciation for The Militant and suggest improvements they would like to see in the paper.

C. J. H. writes from Kansas City, "I wish that all the real liberals and progressives would get together behind a third party and run a unified ticket for every county, state and national office,

Why don't you expose such democratic politicians such as Murray, Harrison, Green, Kennedy and others?"

C. H. D. of Pottstown, Penna., writes, "I read every issue from front to back and hope I'll never be without it. I'm anxious to get each issue. You have a tough job just now and I'll do all I can to help. Wishing you continued success."

M. G. of Long Island, New York, told us on renewing his subscription to The Militant: "I am glad to kick in my buck. I am proud to say that the paper has added converts on the Queens College campus, to the chagrin of the Stalinists. Your articles on Asia are the best. I would like to see a question box and letters to the editor and a more complete coverage on what's going on inside Russia. Anyway, do the best you can and keep fighting the way you have."

M. S. of Los Angeles knows that a fighting socialist paper like The Militant depends on the support of its readers to meet printing costs. "Enclosed you'll find a dollar," he writes. "Keep it up fellows." Many thanks to M. S. for his contribution.

Detroit ELECTION DANCE

To Honor
HOWARD LERNER
Socialist Workers Party
Candidate for Mayor
Saturday, 9 P.M., Sept. 8, 1951
Fun and Refreshments
Donation 50c
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6108 Linwood

"One-Third of a Nation" Still in Serious Poverty

(Cont. from page 1)

credit plan, or second hand, and there were many families who depended entirely upon gifts."

"Countless children," the report concludes, "are being brought up in squalor."

Among the worst cases exposed by the Conference Group were those of families in which the breadwinner had full-time employment, and still had to seek public assistance to provide for the children.

About one New York family of four which is supported by the daughter on a total cash income of \$1,820 a year, the case history reads:

"The stairways and halls are dingy and dark and the musty odor of poverty permeates the place. . . . The son wants to be an engineer but does not know how he can attain his goal."

"Sadie (the family support) at 24, has assumed a passive role, has no friends, no interests, and finds it simplest to accept, without rebellion, the breadwinner role. Lack of clothing and spending money have so narrowed her horizon that it seems inevitable that she will continue as a friendless, empty person." Her mother says, "We ruined her life."

A Texas family of six headed by a widowed mother of five children, reports how it ate before the father, a migrant worker who earned \$1,475 in 1949, died: ". . . quite a bit of bread, and other starchy foods, such as beans, potatoes and spaghetti, which are cheap. Canned milk is used exclusively, although they prefer bottled milk."

These are not isolated cases, but samples culled from among the 10 1/2 million of America's 42 million families who live on under \$2,000 a year.

Letters from Readers

Can't Keep Up

Editor: A note on current out-of-this-world prices. — I'd just about gotten used to not knowing the prices of anything in our local super market, in spite of my regular weekly visits there. (Every week, now, for months, they've been adding a penny or two on to just about everything edible.) But I got really peeved

last week when I saw the store's latest system for helping the checkers keep up with the ever changing prices. Up till now, the clerks had sort of scorecards for standard items like eggs, milk and butter with the latest price hike written in, crossed over, and changed again. Now, though, the store has mimeographed the list of items and next to them they have stapled stacks of long strips of paper, on which the prices are filled in. When eggs go up 2c, instead of messily crossing it out, they simply tear off a strip.

It's nice that they figure out ways to help the clerks — but I wish somebody would concentrate on helping the customers.

R. T.
New York City

Man of Steel

Editor: I heard a radio program Sunday that still has me laughing. It was about the legendary Joe Magarac, the Paul Bunyan of the steel industry, who bends steel bars into figure-eights.

Well it seems that Joe is a man of steel who does the work of a whole furnace crew, turning out hundreds of tons of steel, all by himself, working day and night. He likes nothing better than to work on the furnace.

He doesn't want any more pay, he doesn't want shorter hours, he doesn't want any help on No. 7 furnace, where he works. One of the incidents in the radio sketch has Joe talking with the works superintendent. The boss offers Joe more money, but Joe doesn't want it. He offers him anything he wants. "Joe," he says, "isn't there anything you'd like besides working on No. 7 furnace?" Then there was a long pause. I thought my radio went dead. Finally, Joe says, "Boss, give me No. 8 furnace, also."

Joe (not Magarac)
New York

The Militant welcomes every expression of opinion, whether pro or con, and will make an effort to print all letters received from readers as promptly as possible. Names will be withheld upon request.

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Complete your library of Marxist literature. Bound volumes of Fourth International, monthly magazine of American Trotskyism, contain profound, illuminating articles available nowhere else in the English language on economics, politics, history, philosophy, problems of the trade unions, the Negro struggle for equality and the Socialist movement. Reprints of rare and important writings of Leon Trotsky and other prominent figures of the revolutionary socialist movement.

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Monday, September 3, 1951

Trenton's Killer Cops

In the last few months three cold-blooded murders of Negroes by trigger-happy gangsters-in-uniform have taken place in the New York-New Jersey area.

The last of these victims was Robert Kelly, 26-year old World War II veteran shot to death by Trenton, N. J. policemen, two of whom were involved in the Trenton Six frame-up. In New York the killer-cops had previously taken the lives of Henry Fields Jr., 26-year old Negro and father of three children; and of John Derrick, another young Negro veteran.

These are not isolated incidents. They are the most glaring instances of the increasing terror to which the Negroes and other racial minorities are being subjected not in the Jim Crow ridden South but in the allegedly enlightened and "progressive" Northern communities. There is no record of the countless beatings, the abominations of segregation and other humiliations which are the day-to-day lot of persecuted Negroes.

Effective defense against murderous assaults — particularly against the unbridled police violence — is no minor issue for the Negroes. It is a crying necessity.

Unfortunately, the leading Negro organizations, among them the NAACP, continue to center all their efforts upon official "investigations," and to rely upon the authorities for remedial measures

and justice. There is nothing wrong in pressing for investigations. What is dead wrong is to place the main reliance upon such legalistic procedures.

This has brought and can bring no real relief in the situation. On the contrary, it acts to obstruct a really effective struggle through a mass protest movement. Only when the mass of the Negroes launch such a movement and weld a close alliance with organized labor can damaging blows be dealt to the system of Jim Crow, of which police brutality is a component part.

Jim Crow is not something superficial or accidental. It is rooted in the existing order of things. It serves the deepest interests of the capitalist class. They not only reap profits from it but keep the ranks of the exploited and oppressed divided by it, thus making it easier for a tiny minority of plutocrats to rule unchallenged.

That is why it is so fruitless to plead with capitalists and their politicians and their authorities to end Jim Crow. It is on a par with pleading with one of their killer-cops for mercy, let alone justice. This is the truth, the bitter truth.

Let an aroused Negro people mobilize its ranks in a vast protest movement and in an alliance with labor launch an all-out war against Jim Crow! Once that is done, success is assured. Anything short of it, will fail, as it has up to now.

Watch Where the Smart Money Goes

Korean cease-fire talks were broken off on Thursday, Aug. 23. On Friday, the New York Times carried an editorial that insisted: "We want peace. . ."

The financial page of the same day's Times told a different story. One headline on that page read: "WAR BABIES' PACE MARKET UPSWING. Trend Traced to Breakdown in Korea — Copper, Steel, Air Issues Share in Rise." Another headline about sudden rises in food futures said "TRUCE COLLAPSE SENDS STAPLES UP."

Needless to say, when it became clear the following day that negotiations had not been finally broken off, and there was still a chance that a cease-fire would be negotiated in Korea, the stock market suffered a relapse.

What the stock market tells us in this instance is that the editorial page of the New York Times is not being honest. "We want peace. . ." the editorial says, but the facts show otherwise.

Everything that is published on the editorial page of a capitalist daily newspaper is worked out for effect, and is therefore usually false and hypocritical. When the New York Times, or any other

newspaper of the capitalist-controlled press, says "We want peace. . ." in an editorial, what it really means is "We want you to think that we want peace."

The stock market is different. It tells the truth about what the capitalist rulers of our country want, because it records their actions, not merely their words.

When stocks rise as a result of the news that there is a set-back in the cease-fire negotiations in Korea, that means that a group of the most responsible master-capitalists who rule this nation is saying: "The prospect of continued warfare makes us happy, makes us more confident that industries will show a profit, makes us more willing to part with sums of hard cash to buy shares in industry."

If you ask the owner of a string of horses whether his entries will win on the racetrack, you may be sure he will give you a confident answer. But if you want to know what he really thinks, watch where he puts his money.

That goes for the newspapers as well. If you want to know what the capitalist class wants you to think, read the editorials. But if you want to know the truth of the matter, read the financial page and see how their money goes.

By Charles Hanley

U.S. newspapers and magazines have to admit that America is far from popular among Europeans. In fact, the U.S. inspires awe more than sympathy. Neither force nor money, experience shows, can conquer or buy the genuine sympathy of peoples.

"Didn't we help them by the Marshall Plan? Didn't we spend billions for their rehabilitation?" — We often hear these questions asked. The answer is that the Marshall plan mainly helped the European exploiters of the European workers.

U.S. aid to Europe was aimed quite frankly at strengthening European capitalism. Yet, although it unquestionably improved the situation of certain industrialists and their go-betweens, it did not heal the incurable sickness of a completely rotten economic system.

EUROPEAN WORKER

What has the Marshall Plan done for the European worker? — The very modest wages of the French toilers, for example, are continuously reduced in value by the rising cost of living. In Belgium increasing unemployment endangers the working class whose situation is worse today than at the beginning of American aid. That is why U.S. economic aid has not impressed the European masses. They are still insecure.

Besides, the period of "economic aid" is closing. The U.S. now concentrates on militarizing Europe. Guns and tanks arrive in Naples and Antwerp. These cargoes do not bring the European workers well-being.

"What's wrong with helping the European nations defend themselves against Russian aggression?" This is another question we often hear. The answer is simple: Europeans are less hysterical about "Russian aggression" than the U.S. press and State Department. They are at least as fearful of American provocations as they are of Stalin's policies. The Europeans do not believe that the U.S. is following a policy of peace. They see imperialist preparations for war. And they have had enough of war.

EISENHOWER

Europeans do not think Eisenhower's headquarters in Paris are part of a peace plan. They know from experience how easily war preparedness ends in war. They do not want military aid — along with the longer military service and tremendous military expenses it entails in their own countries.

The people of Europe hate their own military cliques; they fear inflated military budgets at a time when post-war reconstruction is far from completed. They feel that an unhealthy state of affairs is forced upon them by American imperialism. They feel they have become U.S. satellites, and they do not like it.

Propaganda about defense of "democracy" against the Kremlin does not fall on sympathetic ears in Europe. Workers ask, what kind of democracy, please? They read about the condition of the American Negro, about the McGee case, the Cicerio case and many other cases of racial persecution, not only in the deep South but in the North. Europeans also observe at first hand the discrimination

against Negro GI's in the armed forces.

Thus, the people of Europe think that those responsible for segregation and Jim Crow in the U.S. should not assume the role of High Priests of Democracy in the world.

WEST GERMANY

What about the West Germans? Aren't they glad to be protected against the Russians by their American occupiers? The truth is there is no such thing as a popular military occupation. Every occupation hurts the people's interests. The American occupiers immediately dissolved the new factory committees formed in the Ruhr in 1945, after Hitler's downfall. The U.S. supported the German capitalists from the beginning. Several months ago they released Krupp and restored him to his former position of industrial tycoon. The U.S. authorities protected Schacht, von Papen and countless Nazi criminals.

Moreover, every occupation breeds violence, crimes and hatred. Recent events in Fulda, Germany, confirm this. A group of U.S. troops in Fulda raped some German girls, and of course a wave of indignation swept the region. The occupation results in the demoralization of

Not So Popular Among Europeans



EISENHOWER

the occupying troops, and in arousing the wrath of the oppressed nation where a foreign army is imposed.

WANT PEACE

Certainly in Western Europe the hope of the people is the withdrawal of all U.S. military forces, and an end to military build-up. The people want to pursue the peaceful pursuits of reconstruction and building up

the production of consumer goods, not war goods.

In Eastern Europe, while the people hope for liberation from the Stalinist dictatorship, there is little reason to believe they look to U.S. imperialism as the liberator.

The U.S. State Department supports reactionary emigres who want to bring landlordism and capitalism back to the countries now dominated by the Kremlin. The people of Eastern Europe have no intention of exchanging the dictatorship of Stalin for the dictatorship of U.S.-sponsored landlords. They want to keep the land reform already achieved, the nationalization of industry, and other progressive economic reforms which the imperialists would abolish.

Eastern Europe does not want its old masters back. They want independence both from the Kremlin and U.S. imperialism.

A bond of friendship between Europe and America cannot be built by an imperialist government. Only a Workers and Farmers government in the U.S., extending the hand of cooperation and solidarity to the European workers, can win the sympathy and support of workers across the seas.

Why I Am Contributing To the Weinstock Case

An open letter to Louis Weinstock, former Sec'y-Treasurer of N. Y. Painters District Council 9, indicted under the Smith Act,

Like the rest of the members of Painters District Council 9, I have received your personal appeal for support in your case in which you have been indicted under the Smith "Gag" Act. I am sending a dollar for your defense.

"I am confident," you say, "that the painters will not stand idly by and allow me to be railroaded to jail. Any attempt to destroy the right of free speech, free press and free assembly is a threat to our unions and our right to seek better conditions."

You go on to boast of your wartime record, stating, "We were in the forefront selling U.S. Government Bonds, giving blood to the Red Cross." You forgot to mention a few other details like breaking strikes and bounding union militants who were against the no-strike pledge.

Anyway, it's certainly true that we are in a bad state of affairs when the government persecutes anybody, as it is now persecuting you, because of his political views. It is also very true that union men should oppose this indictment; not that I am sympathetic to you personally. Far from it. I consider your record in our union a dirty one. But principles are more important than you and your gang. It is true that your case involves the rights of all.

LABOR SOLIDARITY

I have always believed in the solidarity of labor against those who would destroy our civil liberties. The Smith Act is a reactionary law. The witchhunt must be stopped. I therefore believe your case should be fought through the highest courts.

But I think it's just as important that the members of Painters District Council 9 know how you helped to put the noose around your own neck. They should know that while you are crying to high heaven today about labor solidarity in defense of civil rights, during World War II you sang a different song.

When you were Secretary-Treasurer of the Council you helped to build up the very same Smith Act under which you yourself are now being railroaded to prison.

This should be a lesson, if not to you, then to all honest members of our Council.

MINNEAPOLIS CASE

You and your Stalinist henchmen helped prevent the labor movement from putting up an effective fight against the Smith Act. You supported the indictment, prosecution and railroad to prison of the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544-CIO, back in 1944, remember?

In that way you helped to put yourself behind bars in 1951. You're paying today for the ratty role you played 7 years ago.

Today you advocate labor solidarity against the Smith Act indictments of Communist Party leaders. But in 1944 you went

into the District Council and fought against the Painters giving aid to the first victims under that Act, the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party.

When some of the Council members, whose locals had voted to support the Minneapolis case, advocated that the District Council back the Civil Rights Defense Committee, organized to defend the 18, you wrote a letter to Teamsters Czar Daniel Tobin, complaining that delegates to the Council "were almost ready to give these people a helping hand" and asked that dictatorial union bureaucrat for more information to help prevent any aid from being given.

LETTER TO BIDDLE

That was on May 11, 1944. On the same day you busied yourself writing a letter to none other than U.S. Attorney General Biddle, stating you were anxious to get information which would show that the "18" were convicted for "sedition" instead of "activities on behalf of the labor movement."

You received an answer from Assistant Attorney General Tom Clark, who replied "that the basis of the prosecution had nothing to do with activities on behalf of the labor movement." In those days the Attorney General's word was as good as gold to you. You took this letter to the Council. You used it to defeat a motion to fight the Smith Act by supporting the defense of the 18 victims of Biddle and Co.

You don't mention this in your letter to our members. I don't blame you. Your past cannot stand the light of day.

The 18 Minneapolis defendants were convicted of "advocating" the overthrow of the government, under the very same sections of

the Smith Act which are being used against you. In 1944 you refused to fight against the Smith Act because the people who faced imprisonment under its vicious provisions had different political views than yours. They were in fact bitterly opposed to your policies.

But when it comes to the principle involved in the defense of civil rights, political differences are not decisive for principled people. All those in the labor movement who have an ounce of principle in them know this and act accordingly.

That is why I am willing to urge support of your case, although I am, as I was, an uncompromising opponent of all you stand for politically.

A LESSON

There is a great lesson in this for all union members. If civil liberties are to be defended, they must be defended for all.

I agree with Irving Abramson, who in a letter to the Daily Worker May 31, 1949, referring to your betrayal of labor solidarity in the Minneapolis Case, wrote:

"When any minority group helps the hangmen of civil rights place a rope around the neck of another minority the former must inevitably climb the same scaffold."

That is what has happened to you.

Labor must stand united against the witchhunt. And it must expose its own betrayers, who like you, have paved the way for the wholesale destruction of civil liberties in this country.

Sincerely,
 Harold Robbins
 Member, N. Y. Painters District Council 9

"THE JEWISH QUESTION" A Marxist Interpretation

By A. Leon

Leon died in the Auschwitz gas chambers at the age of 26, but the book he left behind is one of the finest products of the underground resistance movement against the Nazis.

"Leon's approach is that of the orthodox Marxist. . . His analysis. . . is refreshingly lucid and sensible, and it offers us the opportunity to examine a solid statement of the materialistic interpretation of the Jewish question." — Oscar Handlin in the magazine Commentary.

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How Stalin Aided Chiang

Among the myths persistently disseminated by the Kremlin is how great was Stalin's "aid" in liberating China from the rule of Chiang-Kai-shek and the domination of American imperialism. A revealing exposition of Stalin's real role in China throughout World War II up to the resumption of the civil war in China in 1946 is contained in an official statement made by W. Averell Harriman, dated July 13, 1951.

HARRIMAN'S DISCLOSURES

Harriman presents documentary and eye-witness evidence that Stalin throughout worked hand in glove with the U.S. imperialists, and with Chiang. His disclosures are so specific and exhaustive because he seeks to refute the Republican charge of "sell-out" at Yalta. This makes them all the more valuable.

Harriman is in an exceptional position to speak authoritatively

on the subject. From March 1941, he acted as Roosevelt's "special representative," attending in this capacity the special mission to Moscow in September 1941. He represented Roosevelt at Churchill's first meeting with Stalin in Moscow in August 1942; and was with State Secretary Hull at the Moscow conference of October 1943.

From October 1943 to January 1946 he was U.S. Ambassador to the USSR. He attended every conference between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin — Teheran in Nov. 1943 and Yalta in 1945 — and was at Potsdam in July 1945. He was also present when Churchill met Stalin in October 1944 in Moscow; and came to San Francisco United Nations Conference in April-May 1945. In addition "throughout the war I had . . . many discussions with Stalin," states Harriman. And then goes on:

"In one of these talks, which took place in June (1944), Stalin minimized the Chinese Communists, and stated that Chiang was the only man who could hold China together and that he should be supported. Molotov reiterated this position when Mr. Donald M. Nelson and Maj. Gen. Patrick J. Hurley stopped at Moscow in August (1944) en route to Chungking."

At Yalta in 1945 Stalin not only reiterated to Roosevelt "his recognition of the need for a united China under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership" but signed a secret agreement to enter the war against Japan at a price of the notorious concessions in China (status quo in Outer Mongolia, restoration of South Sakhalin and adjacent Islands and the Chinese Eastern and Southern Manchurian railways, etc.).

WELCOMES NATIONALISTS

"During the Hopkins' special mission in Moscow in May 1945, almost three months before Stalin officially declared war on Japan, 'Stalin reaffirmed his support of a unified and stable China (under Chiang) which would control all of Manchuria . . . and stated that he would support the (U.S.) open-door policy. He said he would also welcome representatives of Chiang to be with his troops when they entered Manchuria in order to facilitate the establishment there of administration by the Chinese National Government,' affirms Harriman.

From the end of June 1945 through August 1945 Chiang's

Premier T. V. Soong, later joined by Foreign Minister Wang Shi-chieh negotiated a treaty with Stalin. Chiang's representatives were so elated with Stalin's willing collaboration that Soong made it clear to Harriman "that his Government was anxious to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union and to this end he was prepared to make concessions which we considered went beyond the Yalta understanding."

MATERIAL SUPPORT

Among the special provisions in this treaty between Stalin and Chiang it was specified that "the Government of the USSR agrees to render to China moral support and aid in military supplies and other material resources, such support and aid to be entirely given to the National Government as the Central Government of China."

(In the next installment we shall detail the historical causes which caused the Chinese revolution to erupt unexpectedly not only to Stalin, Chiang and Washington but also to Mao and his colleagues.)



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Elmer

By Theodore Kovalesky

When it is hot and dry, the red-brown dust lies loosely in the furnace yard and puffs out smokily from under your work shoes as you walk. It leaps funnel-shaped into the air in miniature cyclones when the breeze eddies around the corner of the blow-engine house and scoops it off the roadway. When it rains, the red-brown dust conglutinates into a sticky, bloody ooze, and little red streams flow into big brown puddles dyed and darkened by coke dust.

This is the furnace yard, a dusty or muddy wilderness, a red and brown and black desert lying flat at the feet of giant blast furnaces, walled in on one side by the unbroken cliff of the trestle and on the other by the ladle house and the gas washers, the scale houses and the blow-engine houses. It is a cheerless, desolate place, an ugly place — in spite of Elmer.

You see, Elmer always had the idea that he could turn the furnace yard into a garden. To him, the earth should bring forth fruit and produce life, and, naturally, the most barren places and the ugliest were the ones he felt most in need of life and beauty.

And so, in the most outlandish, impossible nooks and corners he tried to impregnate the sterile dust with apple seeds and peach pits; and whenever the rest of the labor gang was resting he hurried here and there watering his plants from a whiskey bottle filled at a drinking fountain or at a hose on some furnace jacket.

He delighted in the tough, scrubby weeds that struggled stubbornly and desperately for life near the north scalehouse, and from time to time he tenderly dug one of them up and transplanted it in some incredible spot where not even the most ferocious will to survive could save it.

Nothing he ever put into the ground grew up again, not that I know. But that didn't stop him. It didn't even seem to disappoint him. He kept on planting and watering. He kept on hurrying from place to place in the stiff, broken, hobbling step of the aging worker, driven by some lusting urge to do, to make, to create life in living green things to freshen the place where he spent his days. It was as though something had gone amiss in the vast social and biological cauldron where

the genes of life are mixed and categorized, and this odd human being, who should have been born and bred to the country soil, saw life and lived it instead in a smoky steel plant suburb.

I remember once asking him why he didn't find himself a job on a farm. He smiled at me with his open, happy, uncorrupted smile, the kind of smile that is so pure-hearted that you see it most on the faces of either small children or dull-witted people. "You know," he said contentedly, "I used to think I'd like to do just that. But then, there's lots of fellows out there in the country to plant things and take care of them, and I figure they don't need me out there. But take a place like this here: Don't nobody take care of things but me, and if I was in the country, there wouldn't be nobody at all."

We used to laugh at him of course. It was funny to see the grotesque sites he always picked for his gardens and the dewy-eyed tenderness he displayed toward the grubbier, homeliest little weed he chose to nurse. And it was funny to see the solemn, enduring earnestness of his efforts that were as constant and untiring as they were fruitless.

Jimmy once remarked, "Man, I hope they're gonna be that careful when they plant that old man in the ground. If they do, maybe his luck'll change and he'll take root and grow." But the ironic part of it all was that when old Elmer went home one day and quietly died, it was in the middle of the coldest spell of last winter; so even if his luck had changed, there would have been very little chance of his taking root in that season.

But you know, thinking back over the whole thing, I'm sort of wondering if there wasn't another reason why we laughed so much at Elmer. The world we had known was changing and decaying. The leaders of this world were driving it faster and faster toward universal destruction. Those of us who didn't see this at least felt it in one way or another. And it seems to me now that this was perhaps the funniest thing of all to us about Elmer: not that he failed in his desperate fight to create living things, nor that he tried in such a burlesque manner — but that, in this day and age, he tried at all!

"Old Scabs Never Die"

By Mary Callahan

A voice called "Close that line!" and suddenly we were shoulder to shoulder in one solid line just before 8:30 Tuesday morning. Some of us wore picket signs and the other girls were just "observers." The picket signs read "The Communication Workers of America are on strike against the Bell Telephone System." Seven thousand telephone workers were involved in the strike throughout the northwest. Here in Seattle we were doing our part.

There was a commotion. Someone was attempting to push through the line. The picket line became alive with song. The girls sang: "Old scabs never die, never die, never die. Old scabs never die, they just smell that way." Some pickets could be seen holding their noses.

Other Seattle workers scurrying along Second Avenue on their way to work would crane their necks over the shoulders of the pickets to observe who had crossed the line — who was the scab.

We were the accounting girls for the Telephone Company and following the "hit and run" strategy of the CWA it was our day for picketing the accounting office. Many of us had gathered at 7 o'clock that morning to prevent the few "loyal" employees from going to work. By 8:15 over a hundred girls were pushing and joyfully kidding the official pickets. "Don't worry," they said, "we're not crossing the line but we want to see if anyone does."

A lot of the girls had just stayed home this morning enjoying an unexpected holiday, but the rest of us wanted to demonstrate our seriousness and strength on the picket line against "Old Ma Bell."

We all held our breaths as this particular girl approached the shop steward. Always known to be spouting company propaganda we considered her a potential scab. But we signed her up instead. She didn't just want to be protected from company reprisal for observing the picket line, she really wanted to join the union!

The squad cars approached soon after the line had become solid and several hundred girls were still excitedly shouting and singing outside. The cops informed us that we'd have to move ten feet from the building or keep moving back and forth without obstructing the public sidewalk.

We obligingly kept moving because ten feet from the building would put us out in the midst of traffic, and anyway our work was well done.

Slums Bad As Ever

By Jeff Thorne

As Tammany ballyhoo for the Nov. 6 city elections, the New York City Housing Authority announces plans for a \$20,492,000 Harlem slum clearance project. The new project, called Jefferson Houses, will possibly be completed in two years, it is announced.

Even the Republicans will use this drop-in-the-bucket project for vote-getting in Harlem, in spite of the fact that their candidate for President of City Council, Congressman Henry Latham, has already been exposed as having voted consistently against Federal aid to such projects.

John Sharkey, Democratic incumbent, will try to pose as a champion of "human welfare." He will seek Harlem votes with glittering promises of eventually making Harlem a fit place to live. But he will never explain why, under the present rule of his party, millions have to live in slums in this richest city in the world.

Precisely because of the Lathams and Sharkeys and their kind of parties and government, representing only the rich, even such a desperately needed improvement as Jefferson Houses will be no unmixed blessing to Harlem. The 2,526 families now living on the site will have to fight every inch of the way to avoid being evicted into worse slums at higher rents.

NYCHA has already bought up the site and is now their landlord. Before these 10,000 men, women and children are finally kicked out, their present hovels will be more rat-infested and disease-breeding than ever. This is the experience in other city projects.

Callous bureaucrats in the Housing Authority

Office will advise complaining tenants to "hurry up and get out." The victims will need mass demonstrations, a fighting organization and lawyers to enforce the laws that are supposed to protect them against such a kicking around.

The site between First and Third Avenues at 115 to 116 Streets, is now occupied by 2,526 families. Jefferson Houses will take only 1,945. The other 581 families will not be able to get back in under any circumstances. There simply won't be room. So at least one-quarter of those at present living in that area now will be made homeless, and probably many more besides.

Records to date on city projects show that no more than 15 percent of the families now living in the area will get back into the new apartments. Those who do go back in will have to prove very low incomes, practically relief level, to qualify.

This Harlem project, therefore, will leave some families entirely homeless, and will not materially improve the situation in Harlem housing. Facts show that housing for Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans and other groups classified as "non-white" who live in the Harlem area is far worse than housing for the population as a whole. For instance, while 7 percent of the population as a whole is reported to live in completely broken down, dilapidated homes below even slum level, 27 percent of "non-whites" live in such homes. 11 percent of the nation's families have no bathing facilities in their homes, but 40 percent of the "non-whites" have none. And, where about 15 percent of the nation as a whole has no hot and cold running water in the home, fully 50 percent of the "non-white" people of the nation do without these facilities.

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HARRY PRESS



FRANK BARBARIA
for Mayor

HOWARD LERNER OPENS DETROIT SWP CAMPAIGN

DETROIT, Aug. 27 — The Lerner for Mayor Committee of the Socialist Workers Party has completed plans for a whirlwind finish in the primary election campaign

to be concluded election day, Sept. 11. A high point in the campaign will be the distribution of 20,000 copies of the SWP election platform at plant gates, union meetings, workers' neighborhoods and the Labor Day parade.

The platform carries a ringing revolutionary message of opposition to imperialism and capitalist profiteering, and a socialist defense of the rights of the masses of people in Detroit as well as in Asia.

The SWP is presenting the only working class candidate in the field. The platform contains the following statement by Comrade Howard Lerner, explaining the reasons for his candidacy:

"... The growing problems of unemployment, speed-up, housing, need for FEPC legislation, decent public transportation with reduced fares, soaring prices, are all growing more and more critical as the drive for World War III unfolds. More and more workers are being saddled with the costs of the super-war program while the profits of corporations hit all-time highs. In my opinion, the question of war overshadows all other questions in importance in this election campaign. The effects of the war program are felt in every home."

On the important issue of an FEPC ordinance for the city of Detroit, the SWP platform states, "For an FEPC ordinance in Detroit! The courageous and persistent struggle by the Negro people has placed this issue directly at the doorstep of City Hall. Confronted with the real thing the buck-passing politicians may seek a watered-down, toothless bill, or else throw the issue into the courts, to be lost in endless legal wrangling. Should these spineless creatures turn the will of the people aside, we demand that the issue be placed on the ballots so the workers of Detroit will have an opportunity to vote yes!"

Howard Lerner is a veteran union man. He is a charter member of Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO. The misery and hell of war is well known to him. He was drafted for World War II. He served through six major campaigns. Lerner was cited for meritorious service under fire at Anzio beach head, and was honorably discharged a sergeant. He is a graduate of Wayne University.

Aside from the SWP campaign, confusion and gloom prevail in all other sections of the labor movement. All the other candidates for mayor are aspiring capitalist politicians. The labor movement forfeited a golden opportunity to start the ball rolling for a labor party by refusing to put an independent candidate in the field. The result is that aside from Howard Lerner, the only serious opposition to the union-busting incumbent Mayor Cobo, is Edgar Branigan, a Democratic party hack.

Branigan has been publicly condemned by the Newspaper Guild



HOWARD LERNER

for refusing to join the union when he worked as a newspaper journalist. This fact, coupled with a general disappointment with the anti-labor program of the Democratic Party, has stimulated opposition to Branigan. At a recent meeting of CIO-PAC delegates and precinct workers, a move to endorse his candidacy for mayor was rejected. The CIO leaders will raise the question of endorsing Branigan again at a meeting to be held Aug. 28.

UAW-CIO Local 174, which generally reflects Walter Reuther's conservative opinions, has since declared itself in favor of endorsing a candidate to oppose Mayor Cobo. In the present circumstances this could only mean Branigan. Louis Miriani, president of the Detroit City Council, who in previous elections had received the endorsement of the CIO, has been condemned in the ranks of the CIO as an active agent of the real estate interests.

The SWP is endorsing the candidacy of Rev. Charles A. Hill for Common Council. Hill is a spokesman of the Negro people, who has fought for their rights over a period of many years.

The CIO-PAC policy of supporting the Democratic Party has resulted in this disastrous position: two weeks before the primary election the CIO is faced with the alternative of capitulating to Cobo by abstaining, or of pushing through an endorsement of Branigan.

The Detroit Federation of Labor, under Frank X. Martel, has endorsed Branigan. At the last election they endorsed Cobo and were kicked in the teeth for their pains by his union-busting tactics during the DSR strike. Another wing of the AFL, under teamster leader Hoffa, has endorsed Cobo to spite Martel. These AFL bureaucrats are incapable of learning anything from experience.

Only the campaign of the SWP for Howard Lerner points the way out to the working people of Detroit. All unionists, housewives and students who are interested in helping may contact the Lerner for Mayor Committee, at 6108 Linwood.

"New Era," Says Dorothy Schultz In Memorial Talk

MINNEAPOLIS, Aug. 21 — The Twin Cities branches of the Socialist Workers Party honored the memory of Leon Trotsky tonight with a Memorial meeting held in the state headquarters here.

The speaker was D. Schultz, who chose as her subject the struggle of the colonial peoples for freedom. Trotsky, she said, lived for the achievement of a society in which the colonial masses of the world would be emancipated.

"This century marks a new era for the colonial peoples," the speaker declared. She went on to describe the developments in China as "a revolutionary movement that means the Chinese people have set foot on the road of a revolutionary solution." China, she said, stands as a challenge to the foreign imperialists that the whole of their system may be swept away.

The audience of workers and housewives, high school and college students, contributed generously to a collection to further the building of the Socialist Workers Party. Singing of the Internationale completed the meeting.

THE MILITANT

Barbaria Enters Mayoralty Race

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 25 — San Francisco candidates Frank Barbaria and Harry Press formally opened their election campaign at the Socialist Workers Party joint Trotsky Memorial Meeting and Election Rally.

"The main issue of this campaign is the question of the war," both Socialist candidates declared. "We intend to oppose U.S. imperialism unambiguously and vigorously in its drive to enslave the world."

Harry Press, candidate for Supervisor, pointed out, "The dispute over where to build the next bridge over the Bay loses its interest when compared to the constant threat of war and insecurity. It is because of this basic question that we are entering the city elections as Socialist Anti-war candidates."

BLACKLIST

"Here in San Francisco hundreds of longshoremen and seamen have been blacklisted by the Coast Guard. The seamen are driven from the industry and the blacklisted longshoremen are compelled to work on commercial ships and docks only. Soon they will try to force them from these jobs too."

"Keep your mouths shut and you can work! This is the command of the American capitalist class."

Frank Barbaria, candidate for Mayor, analyzed the basic causes of war in the economic roots of capitalism. "United States came out of the Second World War as the major world power," he stated. "Yet less than five years later it found itself in a situation where steel production dropped 22 percent in capacity in four months, the fastest drop in its

C. Turner Blasts Police Brutality in Philadelphia

Socialist Workers Party City Council candidate Mrs. Clyde Turner called upon the Negro community of Philadelphia to take measures for its protection from unrestrained police brutality. Citing the recent grudge arrest of Mary Jackson and Betty Jones, the young Negro candidate from the 5th District declared in a series of speeches given the past week, that as long as these race haters roam the streets no Negro could feel secure.

"There is deep and wide resentment against the police in Philadelphia's Negro community," she declared, "and this is proven by the reaction of our citizens to the many police provocations they witness."

"Every victim of the police receives almost universal sympathy and support in the Negro community and on many occasions this has resulted in forcibly resisting race-hating cops who are making an arrest. These incidents are headlined in the press as riots."

"But serious and clear thinking people see these as evidence of resentment and resistance on the part of the Negro community against the anti-Negro phobia that is widespread in the Police Department and the Courts as well."

"In the latest incident the arresting officer charged that Mary Jackson and Betty Jones were fighting. In other areas of the city police usually stop such a fight and advise its participants to move on. But in the Negro community any pretext or no pretext is sufficient for an arrest."

"Later however the Police Sergeant of the District charged that the young women were responsible for a riot several weeks earlier. That is the real reason for the arrest. The riot the Sergeant refers to was an occasion of several hundred persons trying to prevent an unjustified arrest."

"This is the time for every Negro leader and spokesman to make his position clear on Police Brutality. Every Negro organization should make this their number one task. That is the only way to curb the race haters in uniform and restore some security and tranquility to the Negro citizens of Philadelphia."

Philadelphia workers who are interested in participating in Comrade Turner's campaign activities, or who want to get more information on her program, may write to the Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Avenue, or call St. 4-5820.

Anne Chester, chairman of the meeting, is indebted to Trotsky, even as it is to Marx and Engels and Lenin, for the work he did in bringing Marxism up to date; in analyzing and explaining fascism and the process of degeneration of the system of capitalism.

ROLE OF AMERICA

"For us in this country, one of his greatest contributions was the analysis he made of the role of America on the world scene, and the specially important role of the American working class. When you read our program, you will find embodied in it the ideas Trotsky developed."

She ended with the famous quote from Debs' 1918 speech to the jury. "When the mariner, sailing over tropic seas, looks for relief from his weary watch, he turns his eyes to the southern cross, burning luridly above the tempest-vexed ocean. As the midnight approaches, the southern cross begins to bend, the lookout knows that relief and rest are close at hand. Let the people everywhere take heart of hope, for the cross is bending, the midnight is passing and joy cometh with the morning."

The meeting ended with a collection of \$265 to start the campaign off on a solid footing.

The Negro Struggle

Why "Critical" Support?

By Jean Blake

Last week we explained that the Socialist Workers Party supports independent Negro candidates for office because they represent the demand of the Negro people for full equality, and the recognition that independent political action by the oppressed is the road to that goal.

But S.W.P. support for such candidates is "critical," or qualified. Our criticism consists of telling the truth, rather than remaining silent about the limitations of reformist programs for solving problems which require basic socialist changes in our society.

Some people ask: When you urge workers to vote for non-socialist Negro candidates, doesn't that encourage false hopes that Jim Crow can be eliminated through capitalist reforms? What is gained through critical support?

Our answer is that there are a number of distinct gains, and that the first of these is the demonstration of the limitations of reform movements and the need for socialist change.

For example, in many cities throughout the country Negro communities have succeeded through independent mass action in electing Negro councilmen, or forcing passage of fair employment practices ordinances or state civil rights laws barring discrimination in public places. But instead of finding that such reforms actually eliminate discrimination, we see that it continues in only slightly changed form. Many states have civil rights laws, but there is no state where a Negro can go into any restaurant he may wish and be served. Many cities have FEPC ordinances, but there is none where discrimination in employment has actually been abolished.

Reforms Not Enough

In trying to understand why this is so, thinking people are forced to the conclusion, based on all their experience, that political reforms which leave economic power in the hands of the same capitalist minority that profits from a divided working class cannot abolish Jim Crow.

At the same time, however, these movements demonstrate that small gains — more representation, legal victories — are possible, but only through struggle, mass action. In Cleveland, for instance, where there is representation for Negroes in the city council and the judiciary, and a local FEPC ordinance, honest leaders know that organized independent struggle by the Negro community must go on continuously to make these gains anything more than dead letters.

The big lesson of independent political action by Negroes is that in capitalist society the conditions for Jim Crow are constantly reproduced. The decisive power, economic control, remains in the hands of capitalists so long as they can keep the overwhelming majority of the people, the Negro and white workers, divided. Only when the masses unite to establish a workers' and farmers' government which will build a society that operates industry in the interest of all the workers, instead of for the profit of a relatively few capitalists, will the need for segregation and the conditions for it be eliminated.

Negroes and the Working Class

Campaigns to place independent Negro candidates in office not only demonstrate the limitations of programs for reform of capitalist Jim Crow, but at the same time form an independent Negro political force capable of uniting with and stimulating the decisive force for social change in our epoch, the working class.

Negroes have seen that in struggling to eliminate the segregation and misery of slums, they must aim at low-cost public housing for all workers; to guarantee that Negroes will get equal opportunities in employment, it is necessary to secure full employment for all. At the same time, the labor movement, in its struggle for better conditions for workers against the dominating profit interests of the capitalists, is powerless without the support of the Negro masses.

The labor movement, more slowly than the Negro people, who are spurred by the worst oppression, is also proceeding toward independent political action. This development is spurred on wherever independent Negro candidates run for office because they pose the question to labor of whether to vote for discredited Democratic or Republican politicians or to support an independent candidate. This raises the whole problem of working class political action.

In St. Louis, for example, in the local elections for city Council last spring, the leading Negro newspaper raised the question in an editorial: Why not a labor candidate who happens to be a Negro? The point was made that the Democrats and Republicans have not served the interests of either labor or the Negroes, and that if these two unrepresented groups united they could easily form a majority capable of electing their own man.

Unfortunately, the advice of the St. Louis American was not taken. But the fact that the proposal was made indicates the logical direction of independent Negro political action toward uniting with and developing the forces for an American Labor Party.

(Continued next week)